

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 IO-10

L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 /085 W

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P R 050805Z DEC 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0712

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0473

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF
NOVEMBER 29, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT ITS NOV 29 MEETING, THE AD HOC
GROUP (AHG) DISCUSSED HOW ALLIED REPS SHOULD HANDLE
THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL AT THE DECEMBER 3 INFORMAL,
ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT NATO GUIDANCE WOULD NOT BE RECIVED
BY THAT DATE. UK REP THOUGHT THAT ALLIED REPS SHOULD
MAKE NO COMMENT DEC 3 ON THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, EXCEPT
TO SAY THT IT WAS UNDER STUDY. US, ITALIAN
AND FRG ACTING REPS ARGUED THAT ALLIES SHOULD REITERATE
THE CRITICISMS OF THE FREEZE PROPOSAL MADE BY ALLIED
REPS AT THE NOV 26 INFORMAL WITHOUT PREJUDICING SUBSEQUENT
NATO INSTRUCTIONS. THEY ARGUED THAT ALL ALLIED REPS AGREED

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THAT THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, AS IT NOW STANDS, WAS UN-

ACCEPTABLE, AND TO SAY ONLY THAT ALLIES HAD THE PROPOSAL UNDER CONSIDERATION COULD MISLEAD THE EAST INTO ENTERTAINING FALSE HOPES. AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSION, THE GENERAL CONSENSUS WAS THAT ALLIED REPS WOULD AT THE DEC 3 INFORMAL EMPHASIZE THE MERITS OF THE WESTERN PROGRAM, TRY TO ENGAGE EAST IN DISCUSSION OF WESTERN PROPOSALS ON DATA AND NON-INCREASE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND BRIEFLY POINT OUT THE DIFFICULTIES ALLIES HAD WITH THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL.

2. THE AHG ALSO HEARD REPORTS OF TWO UK BILATERALS WITH SOVIET DELOFFS (MBFR VIENNA A-38 AND A-40), DISCUSSED BRIEFINGS FOR THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR (MBFR VIENNA A-39) AND APPROVED THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOV 22 (MBFR VIENNA A-36). END SUMMARY.

3. IN ABSENCE OF US REP FROM THIS SESSION, US DEPREP OPENED DISCUSSION OF TACTICS FOR DEC 3 INFORMAL BY STRESSING THE DESIRABILITY OF CONTINUING TO EMPHASIZE THE ALLIED POSITION. SINCE THE ALLIES WOULD HOST THE DEC 3 INFORMAL, THEY SHOULD LEAD OFF WITH A STRONG STATEMENT OF THE ALLIED POSITION, PUSHING THE NON-INCREASE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER PROPOSAL IN THE CONTEXT OF REDUCTIONS TO PARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. THE ALLIED REPS COULD THEN ASK SOME TIME-FILLING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE ITS NEGATIVE ASPECTS.

4. FRG ACTING REP (HOFMANN) AGREED THAT ALLIED REPS SHOULD ADVANCE AND EXPLAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AIR NO-INCREASE OFFER. REGARDING THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, HOFMANN THOUGHT THAT SINCE NO ALLY CONSIDERED THE PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE AS IT CURRENTLY STANDS, IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO CONTRAST IT WITH THE ALLIED PROPOSAL AND TO MAINTAIN THE LINE TAKEN BY THE ALLIED REPS AT THE NOV 26 INFORMAL, WITHOUT ACTUALLY REJECTING THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL. HOFMANN THOUGHT THE ALLIES COULD MAKE SUCH CRITICISMS WITHOUT CLOSING THE OPTION FOR MAKING A COUNTER-PROPOSAL, WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT MAY WANT TO DO. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD EXPLOIT THE FREEZE
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PROPOSAL TO ELICIT A DISCUSSION OF DATA. HOFMANN ALSO OBSERVED THAT USE OF A FREEZE PROPOSAL TO IMPOSE A CEILING ON FRG FORCES WAS NOT NEW; IN THE SECOND ROUND, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV HAD SUGGESTED THAT THE BUNDESWEHR MIGHT REDUCE ONLY ONE MAN.

5. UK REP (ROSE) AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD LEAD OFF BY SEEKING TO STEER DISCUSSION TO THE ALLIED PRO-

POSALS, BY SHOWING HOW THE AIR NO-INCREASE OFFER LOGICALLY COMPLEMENTS THE WHOLE WESTERN REDUCTION PROGRAM, AND BY REPEATING ALLIED DATA PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, ROSE THOUGHT THE ALLIES SHOULD AVOID COMMENT ON THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT IT WAS BEING STUDIED. HE CONSIDERED IT UNWISE TO CONFIRM THE CRITICAL STATEMENTS MADE BY AHG REPS AT THE NOV 26 INFORMAL UNTIL THE ALLIES DEVELOPED A CONSIDERED POSITION ON THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL.

6. NETHERLANDS REP (DE VOS) AGREED THAT ALLIED REPS SHOULD PRESENT THE MERITS OF THE WESTERN POSITION, ASK FOR A REPLY ON THE AIR NO-INCREASE PROPOSAL AND AGAIN PRESS FOR DATA EXCHANGE. DE VOS AGREED WITH UK REP THAT ALLIES SHOULD AVOID ANY COMMENT ON THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL PENDING INSTRUCTIONS FROM NATO, AND SHOULD DEVELOP THE ALLIED POSITION INDEPENDENTLY.

7. ITALIAN ACTING REP (TALIANI) THOUGHT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE ALLIED REPS TO SAY NOTHING ABOUT THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL DURING A THREE HOUR MEETING. WESTERN SILENCE ALSO MIGHT AFFORD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ALLIES WERE CONFUSED AND DIVIDED. TALIANI SAW NO REASON FOR NOT STRONGLY CRITICIZING THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, AS IT NOW STANDS, ALONG THE LINES TAKEN BY ALLIED REPS NOV 26, AS NONE OF THE ALLIES FOUND THE FREEZE PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE. IF THE EASTERN REPS SAY THEY ARE WILLING TO CHANGEBE THEIR PROPOSAL, ALLIED REPS WOULD TAKE NOTE OF THIS.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

8. FRG ACTING REP THOUGHT THAT WESTERN FAILURE TO REITERATE DEFECTS OF THE FREEZE PROPOSAL COULD GIVE THE EAST AN ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION THAT THE ALLIES MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THEIR FREEZE PROPOSAL IN MODIFIED FORM. WHILE PENDING GUIDANCE FROM NATO, ALLIED REPS CANNOT REJECT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL, HOFMANN THOUGHT ALLIED REPS COULD REFER TO THE DIFFICULTIES POSED BY THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, WITHOUT PREJUDICING ANY FUTURE WESTERN OPTIONS.

9. UK REP THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PERFECTLY POSSIBLE FOR ALLIED REPS TO SAY NOTHING ABOUT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL SINCE EASTERN REPS SAY NOTHING AFTER ALLIES MAKE A PROPOSAL. ROSE THOUGHT ONE WAY TO AVOID A SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSE WITHOUT APPEARING TO RETRACT ALLIED STATEMENTS ON NOV 26 WAS TO REFER TO US REP'S REAMRK AT THE INFORMAL SESSION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE
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ALLIES WOULD GIVE FULL CONSIDERATION TO THE FREEZE PROPOSAL. ALL ALLIED REPS NEED TO SAY AT DEC 3 INFORMAL WAS THAT ALLIES GAVE THEIR IMMEDIATE REACTION AT THE PREVIOUS SESSION, THAT ALLIES WILL GIVE THE PROPOSAL FURTHER CONSIDERATION AND WILL GIVE A CONSIDERED REACTION IN DUE COURSE.

10. US DEPREP SAID IT WAS MANIFEST THAT THE EAST WOULD PUSH ITS FREEZE PROPOSAL AT THE NOV 26 INFORMAL, AND IT WOULD BE AWKWARD FOR ALLIED REPS TO AVOID ANY COMMENT ON IT. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN AN OCCASION WHEN ALLIES HAVE NOT MADE SOME COMMENT ON AN EASTERN PROPOSAL. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE FOR THE ALLIES MERELY TO SAY THEY HAVE THE EASTERN PROPOSAL UNDER CONSIDERATION, WITHOUT MAKING ANY NEGATIVE COMMENTS. SINCE ALL WESTERN REPS AGREED THAT THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL WAS UNACCEPTABLE, AS IT STANDS, AHG REPS SHOULD BE ABLE TO REPEAT THEIR NOV 26 CRITICISMS OF IT. MOREOVER, THE EASTERN PROPOSAL

DIVERTS THE ALLIES FROM THEIR TACTICAL LINE. IT WAS IMPORTANT NOT TO MISLEAD THE EAST ABOUT THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF THE PROPOSAL. US DEPREP ARGUED THAT ALLIED REPS NEEDED, AT LEAST ONCE IN THE NOV 26 INFORMAL, TO ADDRESS THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, GIVING A SHORT SUMMARY OF ITS DEFECTS, WHILE AVOIDING COMMENTS WHICH WOULD REJECT THE IDEA OF A FREEZE AS SUCH.

11. NETHERLANDS REP AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO AVOID ALL COMMENT ON THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. ALLIED REPS SHOULD SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE WHAT THE WEST HAD SAID IN THE NOV 26 INFORMAL, BUT AS BRIEFLY AS POSSIBLE, AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO A SUBSEQUENT CONSIDERED WESTERN POSITION. US DEPREP CONCURRED, SAYING BRIEF NEGATIVE REMARKS WOULD SUFFICE, AND THAT AHG REPS COULD THEN RETURN TO THEIR OWN PROPOSALS.

12. UK REP AGREED THAT THE FREEZE PROPOSAL DIVERTS ALLIES FROM THEIR TACTICAL LINE, BUT ROSE ARGUED THAT ALLIES NEED TO LOOK AT IT IN A WIDER CONTEXT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS. WHILE THE PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY OPINION PROBLEM WAS NOT IDENTICAL IN ALL ALLIED COUNTRIES, IT WAS IMPORTANT IN BRITAIN. ALLIES NEED TO APPEAR TO TAKE THE EASTERN PROPOSAL SERIOUSLY, AND CANNOT PREEMPTORILY REJECT IT.

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COMMENT: UK DEPREP GOODALL STRESSED THIS POINT TO US DELOFF NOV. 29, NOTING THE UK DEL'S NEED TO KEEP CONSTANTLY IN MIND PRESSURES ON THE UK GOVERNMENT FROM THE LEFT WING OF THE LABOR PARTY. END COMMENT.

13. FOR THIS REASON, ROSE SAID THAT WHILE HE AGREED SUBSTANTIVELY WITH COMMENTS MADE BY THE US DEPREP, HE HAD A DIFFERENT CONCLUSION. ROSE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT THE US DEPREP'S SUGGESTION PRESENTED A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE. ALLIED REPS COULD REFER TO ALLIED PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON NOV 26, AND SAY THEY WILL GIVE A CONSIDERED REACTION IN THE FUTURE.

14. US DEPREP REPEATED HIS VIEW THAT ALLIES SHOULD GIVE A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFICULTIES ALLIES HAVE WITH THE FREEZE PROPOSAL AND, THEREFORE, DID NOT BELIEVE A SIMPLE REFERENCE TO THE NOV 26 ALLIED CRITICISMS WOULD SUFFICE.

15. THE CHAIRMAN (BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN) SAID HE THOUGHT SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS OF OPINION HAD DEVELOPED IN THE GROUP FOR THE US DEL TO PREPARE APPROPRIATE DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR THE DECEMBER 3 INFORMAL SESSION. RESOR

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